NOVEMBER 1963

MONTHLY REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

VOL. 15
7

ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS AND TRENDS

THE EDITORS

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

EDUARDO GALEANO

ART AND SOCIALIST REALISM

MARC SCHLEIFER

The Reluctant Rebel

RALPH MILIBAND

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MONTHLY REVIEW: Published monthly except July and August when bimonthly, and copyright, ©1963, by Monthly Review, Inc. Second class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS: 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York. Telephone: CHelsea 2-6494. Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

NEWSSTAND DISTRIBUTOR: B. De Boer, 188 High Street, Nutley, N. J.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: One year—$6 in the U.S.; $7 foreign. By 1st class mail—U.S. $9; everywhere else $11. By air mail—No. America $11; So. America and Europe $15; Asia (incl. USSR), Africa, Australia $17.

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

Since last May's crisis in Birmingham, the Negro liberation movement has grown in scope and combativeness in a manner that must have astonished even its most sanguine militants. And yet, paradoxically, the progress that has been achieved toward the movement's goal of freedom and equality for American Negroes has been small, and in some respects recent months have actually been a period of setbacks. How account for this paradox? Does the difficulty lie in the strategy and tactics of the movement itself? Or in the character of the U.S. power structure? How can more, and more rapid, gains be won in the future? Many people are beginning to ask these and other equally searching and difficult questions, but as yet they have been little discussed in public. It is for this reason that we invited three men who we know have been thinking deeply about these problems to present, at an MR Associates meeting, their views on where the liberation movement is going and how it is going to get there. All three accepted. They are: John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Conrad Lynn, Chairman of the National Committee for a Freedom Now Party; and James Boggs, author of our special July-August issue entitled "The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook." We are confident that this will be an important and memorable occasion. Details will be found in the box on

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS AND TRENDS

Our last commentary on the United States economic scene appeared well over a year ago, at a time when most of the standard economic indicators pointed to an early recession ("U.S. Capitalism at an Impasse," September, 1962). On the basis of the postwar record as a whole, it seemed to us highly probable that the recession would indeed materialize and that it would more than likely be worse than its immediate predecessors. We based this expectation on a guess that the drastic stock market decline of the preceding spring had tended to undermine confidence and that businessmen would therefore react with unusual caution to a change in the economic weather.

Alas for economic forecasts. It didn't turn out that way. The past year has in fact witnessed a mild expansion of the economy; and the stock market, far from registering a mood of business gloom, turned up even before the end of 1962 and by the autumn of 1963 had surpassed its previous all-time high. We agree with one of our readers who has written to suggest that it's about time for a post mortem.

First, let us note that the failure of the indicators in the summer of 1962 was not quite as complete as a first glance might suggest. In this connection we can do no better than quote from a Washington dispatch by Richard E. Mooney which appeared on the financial page of the *New York Times* on May 20, 1963:

> The United States has just been through another recession, almost.
>
> What has happened—and it has just now become certain—may be known someday as the "great pause." According to experts, it was the closest since World War II that the country has come to recession without actually having one.
>
> In other words, the mid-1962 prophets of downturn were not far off. Only it did not work out that way.

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Several months ago the late Per Jacobsson, of the International Monetary Fund, analyzed the situation and concluded that the country had been in a recession—a mild inventory recession. Last week, the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia . . . characterized it as "the recession that didn't happen." Dr. Geoffrey Moore, business-cycle expert at the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York, calls it a "quasi-recession."

Things that usually happen before a recession happened last year. Profits slipped in the early months. The rate of inventory accumulation fell off sharply after the steel wage contract was signed. New orders for durable goods slipped, too, for the same reason—the fear of a strike was over.

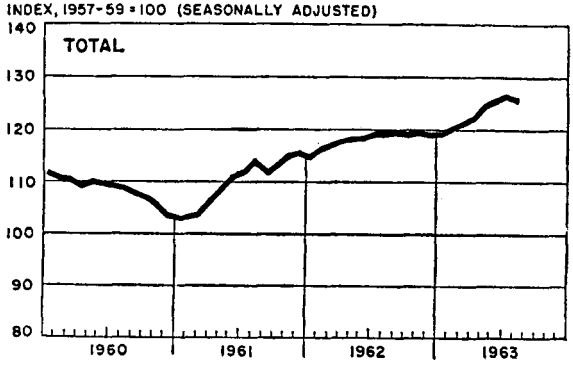
The stock market plunged in May. The factory work week started shrinking at the same time. Wholesale prices of industrial materials weakened.

Furthermore, these developments were followed by things that usually happened when a recession is under way. The rate of unemployment rose. Industrial production flattened. Business spending for plant and equipment declined in the fall.

All that was missing was the big drop. Component parts dipped but not the whole.

What a "quasi-recession" looks like as compared to a full recession can perhaps best be seen in a chart of the Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production, which is probably the most satisfactory single reflector of economic ups and downs.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION



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Here we see very clearly both the full-fledged recession which started early in 1960 and lasted about a year, and the upswing which followed and continued for about a year and a half until the summer of 1962. The index reached its maximum up to that time in September, 1962. From then through January, there was actually a decline, almost too slight to be visible on the chart. The upturn came in February, 1963, and, apart from what nearly everyone agrees is a temporary setback in September, has persisted ever since. Judging by the criterion of industrial production, we can therefore say that the quasi-recession of 1962-1963 lasted approximately four months, which compares with an average of 10½ months for the four preceding postwar recessions.

Why did the "big drop" fail to materialize this time?

In attempting to answer this question, it is helpful to keep in mind the mechanism which is normally expected to turn an expansion of the economy into a contraction. All parts of the system are supposed to be inter-related in such a way that an expansion (or contraction) in any major sector will produce a similar movement in the rest. Traditionally, the sector of the economy which has shown the greatest independence and dynamism has been private investment. The motive force behind both expansions and contractions is therefore usually sought in the private investment sector. An increase in investment spills over into the rest of the system generating a general upswing. And when investment declines, as it typically does at the end of an upswing, this too is normally expected to spread and initiate a general movement in the downward direction. In this schema, personal consumption, which is quantitatively the largest sector of the economy, is thought of as passive, reacting to changes in the investment sector. Within the investment sector itself, by far the most volatile element is investment in inventories which can swing from substantial negative to even larger positive figures within a matter of months and which normally moves in a fairly regular cyclical fashion. It is therefore to be expected that the movement of what is sometimes called the inventory cycle will be reflected in the movement of the system as a whole, with the closeness of the correlation depending on

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the extent to which other components of investment parallel or follow the inventory component.

That this is a highly simplified model of how the economy works is of course obvious. And yet the reality of the relationships and regularities which it highlights has been confirmed by long experience, and in any given situation it makes sense to assume that they will prevail—provided, naturally, that there is no good reason to believe otherwise.

Against this background, let us look more closely at what happened in the last couple of years.

The first thing to note is that the upswing which began in early 1961 was very much "according to the book." Between the first quarter of 1961 and the second quarter of 1962, Gross National Product (GNP) rose by 10.3 percent. Investment, however, rose by almost three times as much (28.4 percent), thus confirming its traditionally dynamic role. In addition, and again not unexpectedly, somewhat over half of the increase in investment was accounted for by an increase in the rate of inventory accumulation.

The end of the upturn which came in the summer of 1962 is easily traceable to the sharp slackening off in the rate of inventory investment which began in the spring. This was enough to bring the overall rate of investment down by the third quarter. Viewing these developments at the time, one was surely not being unreasonable to interpret them as signalling the onset of a recession. What went amiss?

One part of the answer is that two key private components of GNP, automobiles and housing, took off in the "wrong" direction. The 1963 automobile model year (roughly from September, 1962, through August, 1963) began just as the economy gave signs of having reached a turning point. But far from recording a decline as compared to the preceding year, as might have been expected, it set a new record, surpassing for the first time the famous 1955 model year. *Business Week* (August 3) put the production of cars in the 1963 model year at better than 7.3 million units, 10 percent higher than 1962. In value terms, the increase was even greater. According to Department of Commerce figures, sales of motor vehicles and parts from mid-1961 to mid-1962 were $26.5 billion and from mid-1962

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to mid-1963 they were $30.6 billion, an increase of 15.5 percent. Non-farm residential construction during the same two periods amounted respectively to $22.3 billion and $23.9 billion, a gain of 7.2 percent.

A second part of the answer is that government spending, which started to rise sharply after the Kennedy administration came to power, continued on its upward course. Again comparing the same two periods, we find that government purchases of goods and services (including all levels of government) rose from $112.7 billion to $121.0 billion, up 7.4 percent. For easy visibility, let us put all these figures together in one table:

	July, 1961 Through June, 1962	July, 1962 Through June, 1963	Increase	Percent Increase
	Billions of Dollars			
Sales of motor vehicles and parts	26.5	30.6	4.1	15.5
Non-farm residential construction	22.3	23.9	1.6	7.2
Gov't purchases of goods & services	112.7	121.0	8.3	7.4
Totals	161.5	175.5	14.0	8.7

This is not the whole story, to be sure. There were other counter-cyclical forces at work—an increase in government transfer payments, a rise in consumer purchases of things complementary to automobiles and housing, etc. But we think the strength of the three sectors listed in the table is undoubtedly the real explanation of why the quasi-recession of 1962 failed to turn into a full-fledged recession. As usual in economic matters, however, the answer to one question only leads to others. How account for the behavior of automobiles, housing and government spending?

This is obviously not the place for serious discussion of questions of such complexity and magnitude. But one aspect of the matter cannot be passed over. Traditionally, as noted previously, the economy has been divided into two great sectors, investment and consumption. The rate of investment has been assumed to depend on prospective profitability and the rate of consumption on the level of consumer incomes. On these two

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assumptions have been erected a number of neatly logical models with certain well defined behavioral characteristics. The tidiness of the pictures was somewhat spoiled by the explicit introduction of government, which is bound neither by the calculus of profit and loss nor by the level of its current income; but so long as the focus was on peacetime and on relatively short-run fluctuations it was possible to treat government as a secondary force calling for no modification of the basic theory.

In recent years, however, it has become increasingly clear that there are large elements *within* the traditional categories of investment and consumption which are similarly independent of profitability and current income, or rather whose relationship to these variables is so complicated or uncertain that they cannot be fitted into the traditional pattern. Chief among these maverick elements are housing and automobiles, officially classified under investment and consumption respectively. Quite apart from this official method of classifying them—which is really nothing but a convention—it is obvious that housing and automobiles have one thing in common, that they are largely bought by final consumers for their own use; and it might be thought that for this reason their sales should after all be closely tied to the level of consumer income. The reason why this is not so, of course, is that both housing and automobiles (and to a degree other consumer durable goods which, however, are quantitatively much less important) can be bought on credit. Furthermore, the availability of such credit to the average consumer has vastly increased in recent decades, and especially since the Second World War, so that the limits to the demand for housing and automobiles at any given time are by now extremely elastic.

When account is taken of the fact that government, housing, and automobiles together account for a third or more of GNP, it is hardly surprising that if all three move in the same direction they can effectively dominate the movement of the whole economy.

This doesn't mean that the older theory is no good at all. Large parts of the economy undoubtedly do fluctuate the way it leads one to expect, and other parts would if they weren't

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more powerfully influenced by counteracting forces. What this experience does mean is simply that the older theory applies to a considerably smaller segment of the economy than used to be thought, that it must be used with due recognition of its limitations, and that one of these limitations is that it provides no basis for believing in the reliability of any system of forecasting.

Some might wish to go farther and call in question the wisdom of talking in terms of "cycles" at all. We do not agree, if only because the inventory cycle seems real and important enough, even if it doesn't always carry the whole economy with it. But whatever conclusion one may reach on this issue, one thing is perfectly clear: the experience of the past year provides absolutely no reason to anticipate the end of fluctuations as such, or to suppose that there is any necessary tendency for them to become milder. The parts of the system are tied together less closely than theory has traditionally assumed, but they are all subject to wide, unplanned fluctuations. These may counteract each other, as they have during the past year. But on some future occasion, they may reinforce each other, with very different consequences. A combination of a housing slump, a poor automobile model year, an economy-minded Congress, and a "normal" liquidation of inventories could yet produce a real old-fashioned depression.

In the meantime, one should not allow preoccupation with the problem of short-run fluctuations, however mild or severe, to divert attention from the much more basic problem of long-run trends. And here nothing has happened during the past year to change the grim picture that has been inexorably taking shape since the mid-1950's. On the contrary, a year of "prosperity" has only served to sharpen its outlines and to emphasize its contrasts.

The profits of the great monopolistic corporations have been flourishing. Here automation and other forms of cost-cutting have paid off handsomely. Between the last quarter of 1961 and the second quarter of 1963, the official government figure for corporate profits after taxes rose from $24.3 billion to a new record high of $26.8 billion (annual rates). But this greatly understates the extent of the increase. Beginning in 1962,

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a generous treasury issued new rules for calculating depreciation which permitted corporations to transfer $2.5 billion from (taxable) profits to (untaxable) depreciation allowances. If we put this amount back into profits for the second quarter of 1963, we find that the net take of the corporations after taxes had risen by no less than 20 percent in the preceding year and a half. No wonder the stock market booms and the business press exudes satisfaction over the state of the economy!

But this rosy picture occupies only part of the canvas. Cost-cutting raises profits, but it also throws men and women out of work and makes it impossible for millions of others, especially among the young and the poorly educated, ever to find jobs. A dramatic illustration comes from the automobile industry which we had occasion to stress in our earlier analysis of short-run fluctuations. During the up-to-then record year of 1955, according to *Business Week* (August 3), 718,300 production workers turned out 7,131,000 automobiles. During the 1963 model year, 556,000 workers produced 7,340,000 automobiles. In other words 23 percent fewer workers turned out 3 percent more cars. One can see the same forces at work in the overall figures for the most recent period. From the middle of 1962 to the middle of 1963, GNP went up five percent, employment one percent. Since the labor force also increased, unemployment remained virtually unchanged. Such are the fruits of "prosperity," latest style.

According to the official count, 5.5 percent of the labor force is now out of work. But here again we have a grave understatement. First, the figure makes no allowance for involuntary part-time unemployment; and second, it fails to count the growing number of men and women who have abandoned the search for work because bitter experience has taught them its futility.

Statistics which began to be published by the Department of Labor in 1962 now make it possible to remedy the first of these two defects in the official unemployment count. Whereas the seasonally adjusted unemployment rate in August, 1963, stood at 5.5 percent of the labor force, the more comprehensive measure of "labor force time lost through unemployment and

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part-time work" was up to 6.7 percent.*

The second source of underestimation—failure to count unemployed persons who would like work but have given up looking for it—has been studied by Charles C. Killingsworth, professor of economics at Michigan State University, and some of his results were reported in the *New York Times* of October 8th. Appropriately calling these people the "invisible army of unemployed," Killingsworth estimates their present number at 1.5 million. If we add this figure to both the labor force and the number of unemployed, we get a seasonally adjusted full-time unemployment rate of 7.4 percent in August. To this we must add the full-time equivalent of part-time unemployment, calculated in the manner already indicated, which brings the overall rate for that month up to 8.6 percent.

A statistic, particularly a percentage, is a very abstract thing. It takes an effort of the imagination to grasp what it stands for. The labor force at the present time contains some 73 million workers, and 8.6 percent of that is well over 6 million, approximately the number of workers in the entire state of Illinois, the fourth most populous state in the Union. Imagine the outcry if all the workers in Illinois suddenly lost their jobs! But the fact that the unemployed are scattered throughout the country, largely in isolated communities or in urban ghettos, means that for the most part they are visible only to each other and to their poor and underprivileged neighbors. So far as the well-to-do are concerned, the people who monopolize power in the United States today, the whole body of unemployed workers are an "invisible army"—a statistic, nothing more.

Can this situation endure? Reason tells us that it cannot, if the number of unemployed goes on increasing in the future as it has in the past. And on this, the indications are all too

*In arriving at this figure, it is assumed that unemployed persons lost 37.5 hours a week. Those on part time through no fault of their own were counted as unemployed to the extent that they worked less than 37.5 hours. Since most full-time workers in fact work more than 37.5 hours, it follows that this procedure still underestimates the amount of part-time unemployment. (We cite figures from *Economic Indicators*, the convenient monthly statistical compendium published by the Council of Economic Advisers. In the September 1963 issue, the relevant chart and tables will be found on p. 11.)

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clear. John I. Snyder, Jr., head of U.S. Industries, Inc., a leading manufacturer of automation equipment, and a man whose experience should qualify him to speak with authority, told a Senate committee last week that he believes automation is wiping out 40,000 jobs a week—more than two million a year. "Too many people," he said, "are willing to accept too many myths about what is going on around us in our factories and offices. Too few people accept the very few truthful facts which are being turned up by real experience and intelligent study." (*New York Times*, October 4, 1963.)

It is true that too few accept the facts, but their number is growing and among them more are raising their voices to warn of what lies ahead. Listen to Andrew Hacker, professor of government at Cornell, speaking at a recent meeting of the American Political Science Association:

> It may well be that two Americas are emerging, one a society protected by the corporate umbrella and the other a society whose members have failed to affiliate themselves with the dominant institutions.
>
> What of the second America? In part it will consist of small businessmen and other independent spirits who manage to do well enough without corporate attachments. But, more importantly, it will be comprised of the unemployed, the ill-educated, and the entire residue of human beings who are not needed by the corporate machine.
>
> How will they earn their living and support themselves? How will they maintain their sense of self-esteem?
>
> If this pool grows to substantial proportions, if it finds political leadership, if it gives vent to its resentments and frustrations, then, and perhaps then only, will a force arise to challenge the great corporate institutions. For then power will meet power, the power of a mass movement confronting the power of the machine. The discard heap the machine itself created may arise to devour its progenitor.
>
> This revolution—with or without violence, whether from the Left or from the Right—will only be averted if the corporation can make room in its environs for those who demand entry.
>
> Has it the jobs, the resources, the will, and the imagination to achieve this? Thus far corporate America has escaped open attack because the new technology is not yet at the point where its victims outnumber its beneficiaries. But technology advances according to rules of its own, and support for the machine will

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diminish as accelerated automation contracts the corporate constituency.

In this event the other America, the society of losers, may grow in number and power with increasing rapidity. The resolution will not be a pleasant one. (*New York Times,* September 7, 1963.)

There is evident confusion here between the machine and the corporation, between technology as such and the uses to which it is put under a given social order. In some passages, Hacker seems to be tracing the root of the problem to the one and in some to the other, a fact which reflects the absence, characteristic of American social science, of any coherent theory of social structure and social change. Nevertheless, there can be no denying the essential truthfulness of Hacker's vision.

It remains only to add that the question whether the corporation has "the jobs, the resources, the will, and the imagination" to reverse the trend of events is to be interpreted as purely rhetorical. The answer, of course, is no. Corporations are and *must be* interested in profits, not jobs. Under the conditions of monopoly which prevail in the United States today, the maximization of profits means the minimization of jobs. The corporate system is not going to change its own nature: no social system ever has or ever will. The job will have to be done by its victims.

(October 12, 1963)

It is not within the power of business to reform itself. The churches never reformed themselves. Schools never reform themselves. Reform and revolution are always the prerogative of the amateur on the outside, and this must happen here too. The changes required in society can only be carried out by the citizenry as a whole, not by the vested interests that have a stake in the status quo.

—*Robert Gordis, The American Character*

Automation represents the quintessence of capitalism, the ultimate in the investment of money to get the biggest product out of human effort.

—*First National City Bank's "Monthly Economic Letter," November, 1962*

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THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS: NOTES FOR AN OBITUARY

BY EDUARDO GALEANO

How well I remember the excitement at Punta del Este two years ago, when the Alliance for Progress was born! In an atmosphere clamorous with speeches, statements, and promises, with the comings and goings of ministers surrounded by secretaries, ambassadors, and a beehive of newspapermen, how well I remember the grinning faces and the eager hands extended toward the mirage of dollars which floated in the air like the heavy scent of pines.

Of all this—what remains now?

The Alliance for Progress is in a bad way. Fewer and fewer people now believe it exists at all. In 1962, Teodoro Moscoso, the United States Administrator of the Alliance, declared that there was no reason to celebrate its first anniversary.

In August, 1963, there is no reason to change this view.

In his June report, ex-President Kubitschek of Brazil did not hesitate to describe the Alliance as merely a convenient label for a variety of projects, including many lacking creative objectives.

Some weeks ago, another voice from Brazil sharply attacked the Alliance for Progress. The Minister of Education, Paulo de Tarso Santos (who refused to sign the gelatinous blah-blah known as the Declaration of Bogotá) stated that the ways in which the Punta del Este decisions are being carried out merely contribute "to perpetuate the privileges of the few." He also added that "more and more, public opinion demands deeds instead of words."

Thus Latin America had a wan celebration of the second anniversary of the Alliance.

Eduardo Galeano, one of the editors of the Montevideo weekly *Marcha,* is the author of "The Communist Schism in the Outskirts of the World" which appeared in the May, 1963, issue of *MR.* The present article is translated from the Spanish by Melitta del Villar.

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From Words to Deeds

Not a single objective of the Punta del Este Charter has been achieved—nor is any on the way to fulfillment under the Alliance. Latin America continues just as underdeveloped as it was two years ago. In fact, it is even worse, since during this period the population has continued to increase at the usual accelerated rhythm. There are more of us, more and more problems to solve at every step. Huge areas of hunger cover the map of America, south of the Rio Bravo, where two out of every three persons do not have enough to eat. There are 70 million illiterates. As poverty grows and spreads, wealth becomes more concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people.

There will be revolution: Kennedy himself assures us of this. Will it be the peaceful revolution of "increasing hopefulness" that he announced, so generously, a few days before the invasion of Cuba? Will this be the revolution of the Alliance for Progress?

It is paradoxical that the only Latin American country which is actually carrying out the paper objectives of the Punta del Este document should be outside the Alliance. Cuba, in the middle of its socialist revolution, has been excluded from the Organization of American States and, as everyone knows, has not received one single cent. It has received, however, invasion and threats of invasion, a tight economic and political blockade, and a constant stream of calumnies.

Of the other Latin American countries, Brazil, confronted with a bourgeois revolution pregnant with contradictions, has nevertheless stood up to the government of the United States with pride and dignity—a truly unusual sight in Latin America.

And the rest—what can be said of them? For one thing, recent experience has confirmed that Latin American governments have a brief life-span: witness Ecuador, Argentina, Guatemala [and now the Dominican Republic—Editors]. Even those countries that have achieved a certain "institutional stability" often do so only through iron-clad dictatorships.

Where do we find an agrarian reform under way? What plans for development have actually been started?

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Behind the Stone Is the Crab

After two years the loaves and the fishes have not multiplied. At Punte del Este, Dillon promised $20 billion in ten years, but the United States Congress only voted $525 million for the period 1962-1963. And of this, how much has been distributed up to now? The exact amount is not known, but there are voluminous reports about the projects and plans. We are certain about one thing and it is this: loans are made, for the most part, in the form of products from the United States. The Alliance does seem very concerned about providing much-needed markets for United States industry.

The Brazilian Ambassador to Washington, Campos de Oliveira, said in January of this year: "The aid seems to be conditioned by the purchase of North American goods. It is part of a program for the expansion of U.S. foreign markets designed to absorb surplus U.S. products and to relieve overproduction in the U.S. export industry."

The Chamber of Commerce of Costa Rica made it known that it opposed the loans because "we are forced to dispose of all our raw materials and are placed in the position of obligatory customers."

The Airport of Ilopango in El Salvador is a case in point. It will be built under the supervision of North American technicians and U.S. companies will supply and transport the machinery and the necessary materials.

At the same time, the U.S. Department of Commerce joyfully makes known, through its own publication, some eloquent statistics: Private companies in 44 states of the Union had, through coordinated operations, increased sales in the amount of $235 million. These operations were conducted through the International Development Agency—one of the Alliance's organs for distribution of funds. (*International Commerce,* February 4, 1963.)

Let us take another random example, also significant: the loan of the Inter-American Development Bank—already approved, within the framework of the Alliance—to the Departmental Council of Montevideo (*Consejo Departamental de Montevideo*), for the purpose of developing the sewage system. One distinguished technician has referred to it as a "shameful

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loan." Why? For one thing, some terms in the contract for the loan violate the Uruguayan Constitution. But leaving that aside, the contract stipulates that 50 percent of the freight should be transported in merchant ships flying the U.S. flag. Finally, it demands that the funds only be used for the purchase of goods or services emanating from the United States or from Uruguay. But Uruguay is not a developed country—it cannot supply either the goods or the services needed.

To sum up: We see that the Alliance is actually an indirect subsidy for business in the United States, providing not only new outlets for its products but employment and profits as well.

Concerning the Inter-American Bank

Let us take a close look at the Inter-American Development Bank. All loans for the Alliance, appropriated through the common funds of the Inter-American Development Bank, are recorded in official documents.* If one takes the trouble to read the Third Annual Report of the Bank, published December 31, 1962, one discovers that the U.S. has contributed $150 million, whereas Latin America has contributed $232 million—in round numbers—to the total resources of the Bank. The total *disbursements* by the Bank, in the form of credits for Latin American countries hardly exceed $26 million. What does the IDB do with the remaining millions? According to the Report, the IDB pours them into "short-term investments of the U.S. Government or into fixed-term deposits in commercial banks."

In plain language: *Latin America gives aid to the United States to the tune of more than $205 million.*

Alliance for whose progress?

The amount of the loans actually made through the Fiduciary Fund for Social Progress—and these monies do come from the U.S.—is no less amusing. Barely $23 million were disbursed, even though the loans approved and appropriated were more than $320 million. These examples lead us, inevitably, to two conclusions: First, that Yankee philanthropy, in certain instances, functions in reverse; second, that there is a consider-

*Organization of American States, *Provisional Listing of Alliance for Progress Projects,* March, 1963.

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able distance between the dollars promised and the cash disbursed.

We Are All Revolutionaries

The oligarchy in Latin America pressures Kennedy. Kennedy pressures the Latin American oligarchy. In this game of mutual blackmail, both sides—for their own separate reasons—stir up the phantom of Communism. Except for the inexcusably naive, can anyone really believe that those who get all the benefits from the present system of exploitation will do anything to promote essential structural reforms? Can anyone really trust the good intentions of imperialism? Both the native oligarchies and imperialism amply demonstrate through their actions that the whole program is a farce.

Of course, no one questions any longer whether revolution is or is not necessary. We all speak of revolution: Kennedy and Stroessner, Betancourt and Alessandri. But the structures continue unchanged. The economic as well as the social system remains intact.

At a recent meeting in Mar del Plata, Argentina, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), organ of the United Nations, reached the conclusion that "the more widespread use of modern technical equipment has brought about changes in methods of production as well as in the structure of the economy. These changes, in turn, necessitate other changes in the social structure in order to provide a real dynamic to the economic system and to promote redistribution of income. The prevalent social structure not only represents considerable waste of the savings potential of the upper strata of the population, but considerable waste of land, capital, and human potential as well." It continues: "The upper strata of the population (5 percent) accounts for nearly three-tenths of the total consumption of Latin America. Among this group, the average consumption per family is 15 times higher than that of the lower strata (50 percent) of the population. If this proportion were reduced eleven times, decreasing consumption of the upper strata and channeling the money into increased investments, the annual rate of growth of income, per in-

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habitant, could rise from 1 percent to 3 percent."*

It is evident that our oligarchies do not understand that small sacrifices are necessary. Profits are spent on extra automobiles, luxurious homes, magnificent residences, rather than on industrial installations, tractors, or blast furnaces. Thus, millions of dollars emigrate toward North American and European banks while our oligarchies look the other way.

The Suction Pump

And imperialism, does it understand? Could it be that for the United States also the Alliance for Progress is just a hypocritical game?

If we examine the Mar de Plata document further, we find the following statistics: In the ten-year period (1951-1961) the net flow of North American capital poured into Latin America in the form of direct private investments, amounted to $5,510 million. During that same period, these same investments in Latin America sent back to the United States the sum of $9,500 million in dividends and profits. This is the "suction pump" so often referred to by the Brazilian leftist, Leonel Brizola.

In eleven years Latin America was bled for almost $4,000 million! Thus, through its private investments, Wall Street is draining Latin America of its capital. For each dollar they bring us, they take out almost two. ECLA estimates that through its various operations, foreign capital swallows up 20.7 percent of the gross savings of Latin America. And, according to data from the International Monetary Fund—a source which by no stretch of the imagination could be called "communist"—Latin America loses about one billion dollars a year from its total import potential because of the drain represented by repayment of debts, amortizations, dividends paid to U.S. investors, etc. A pitiless drain.

The Deep Roots of Our Poverty

Kubitschek pointed out that the Alliance has not concerned itself at all with the true source of poverty in Latin America:

*Comision Economica para America Latino, *Hacia una dinamica del desarollo Latinoamericano,* Mar del Plata, May, 1963.

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the terms of trade which constantly operate to the detriment of Latin American exports. Every year we lose in international markets twice the amount allocated by the Alliance during 1962-1963. Unfortunately, it is a familiar process. The raw materials which Latin America exports are worth less and less in relation to the finished or manufactured products it imports from industrially developed centers. During the period 1930 to 1958, for example, Argentina's total loss was equivalent to twelve Alliances for Progress. In the case of Brazil, Ambassador Campos de Oliveira has said that "the loss through deteriorating terms of trade has been greater than the total aid given Brazil since the war." The same tractor (Ford Major) which was worth the equivalent of 22 Uruguayan young bulls in 1954, today costs as much as 42 young bulls. Uruguay, in other words, must export double the amount of meat in order to acquire the same piece of machinery.

The conclusions reached by ECLA are worth studying: "If we take as a basis of comparison the average import and export prices during the period 1950-1954, we find that changes in the period 1955-1960 resulted in an estimated loss of $7,400 million to Latin America. Thus we see that the 60 percent annual increase in exports was canceled out through these deteriorating terms of trade."

In the face of this monstrous mechanism of strangulation, the ambiguous dollars of the Alliance for Progress count for little.

Cancer cannot be cured with aspirin.

This penalty that you have been paying for your own affluence is a heavy one. It is now threatening America's security, but it is also doing America graver harm than that. Affluence is estranging America from her own ideals. . . . It is pushing her into becoming the policeman standing guard over vested interests.

—Arnold J. Toynbee, America and the World Revolution

Our missile program fits into the system very well. We send up missiles that never come back, and so we have to make more missiles. This is fine. It creates jobs and keeps money in circulation.

—Louis J. Ridenour Jr., Mgr. of research development in the missile division of Lockheed Aircraft Corp., March, 1959.

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A Song of Charm

The earth might go spinning for ten million years
if there were no sweet, charming ladies
to goad us to evil, to war and upheaval,
like Helen and Eve, both of Hades;
And centuries later fair Madame Kai Shek,
a lady of wondrous distinction,
tried hard to induce Uncle Sam to let loose
gold coin which had meant our extinction.

So I'm glad we declined
to go warring, by heck,
to please the great charm
of Madame Kai Shek.

If the cost of this pleasing meant death to our sons,
and brought all the earth to disaster,
should we be consoled that we gave Madame gold
and made Quemoy safe for her master.
Oh, the charm of the Madame is lovely to see,
the beautiful Madame Kai Shek;
but there are some people, and they include me,
to whom it's a pain in the neck.

And now comes another fair maid on the scene—
the beautiful Mrs. Dinh Nhu—
whose glamorous glance at the gold in Sam's pants
might cost him a billion or two.
But we had our warning from Madame Kai Shek,
and Helen and Eve made us wise—
too wise to stick out our political neck
to please Mrs. Nhu's lovely eyes.

So I think we'll decline
to go warring, by heck,
to please Mrs. Nhu
or Madame Kai Shek.

—Wilson MacDonald

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ART AND SOCIALIST REALISM

BY MARC SCHLEIFER

> *Nobody, no matter how capable and shrewd he may be, can impose on an artist what to do, telling a man how to write a poem, how to create music, how to paint. . . .*
>
> —Palmiro Togliatti

Socialist Realism is not a theory of aesthetics; it is an ethical attitude toward the nature of art and the obligations of the artist. It was not declared an official state policy in the Soviet Union until 1934. Whatever various opinions about art are credited to Lenin, or may be found in his writing, one fact remains—while Lenin lived the USSR recognized, respected, and protected the autonomy of the arts.

Socialist Realism does not concern itself with the personal perception of an artistic or transcendent reality—with the poet's ear probing for *the* sound; with the painter feeling for *the* image, or *the* movement of energy, or *the* stroke, or *the* representation, or *the* arrangement, or *the* mood that *intensely expresses his sense (vision) of things as they are.**

The primary assumption of Socialist Realism is that art is subordinate to politics and that therefore art is to be judged by the ethical criteria of political utility.

I can only hope to approximate the wide range of Socialist Realist tendencies. At its most liberal end it respects the right of artists to hold other attitudes towards art and does not question that the artist should be encouraged to create accordingly. But it declares that in emergency situations (when socialism is endangered) the state will be indifferent to art which does not reflect "revolutionary content" and will encourage those artists who are responsive in their work to the

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Marc Schleifer is a young American writer who is a frequent contributor to MR.

*"I question not my corporeal eye any more than I would question a window concerning a sight. I look through it, and not with it."—William Blake.

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needs of the state. I believe that Nicolás Guillen's semi-official speech to the First Congress of Cuban Artists and Writers (August, 1961) approximates this tendency. If one believes, as I do, in socialism and in the autonomy of art, this is the most persuasive tendency—it advances its ethic of expediency as a temporary, emergency, or "war" measure, in face of an obvious danger. It is also persuasive for it is a liberal Socialist Realism, separating "content" from "form," treating "form" as another question to be decided entirely by the artist and to be judged in formalistic rather than ethical terms. Other arguments to the side, however, the position is fallacious in its political naiveté. Past and current history assures us that the socialist world will face an "emergency" or "war" situation as long as imperialist capitalism survives.

The remaining Socialist Realist tendencies differentiate between a "bourgeois" art and a "socialist" or "revolutionary" art, and by so doing they constitute a permanent ethical attitude toward art and artists, even though the definitions themselves are by no means permanent. The tendencies range from liberal to orthodox to the degree that their sense of political utility passes from "content" to "form."

"Bourgeois art" is defined as such when it is considered to be of insufficient political utility. Historically, it may then be assigned value characteristics such as "decadent," "escapist," etc., but this is really only a question of polemical style.* Thus Expressionism was considered "revolutionary" in 1930 when Socialist Realism was developing in the Soviet Union under the name of Revolutionary Dynamism, but was redefined as "bourgeois" by 1934.

At its most orthodox, Socialist Realism demands that the form of a correct work of art must be so simple that its message can be easily comprehended by the great masses of people. This has often meant, in painting, that developments in the West since possibly French Romanticism, or at best Impressionism, are condemned. For all art, of whatever style, if it is original or

*Khrushchev's conviction that abstract painting is—by definition—worthless, "decadent," is one that he has shared in public with Nixon and Eisenhower, and historically with Hitler and Mussolini.

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"difficult" in comparison to the style which is most conventional, either at the time of seizure of power or imposition of Socialist Realist dogma, is not "correct."

It is important to remember in comprehending the attitude of Socialist Realism that the description of an artistic development as "bourgeois" does not mean that it is so because the bourgeoisie admire it, encourage it, or praise it. Nor is aesthetically revolutionary art recognized as "revolutionary." Orthodox Socialist Realism means the opposite. The most easily comprehensible form for the masses of people will be the most conventional, the least original and experimental, and the most (in the artistic sense) decadent form available. And it will also be the most bourgeois; for it will have been given to the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. As long as orthodox Socialist Realist attitudes hold sway, the official painting, poetry, literature, theatre, and film of a socialist society must stagnate—for artists are directed to create only in the most conventional manner and the audience is never exposed to any other sort of art. An exception to this general rule of artistic decadence inherent in orthodox Socialist Realism is folk art—"correct" politically for being conventional, but not being a professional, formal art, it remains vital as long as there is a "folk" to create and maintain it spontaneously.

If one concedes that there is an hierarchical relation between art and politics (rather than autonomy) and that art is subordinate to politics in that hierarchy, then the most logical tendency is the most orthodox Socialist Realism. Assume that a work of art is to be judged "correct" ("good"), to any degree on the basis of utility. What then is there about art that would lead us to judge it by standards other than those we apply to a pamphlet on agricultural methods?

Orthodox Socialist Realism denies the validity of an autonomous subjectivity in art. Artistic reality exists only objectively. Knowledge of this objective artistic reality will determine or condition the artist's "subjective" vision. Therefore to discover artistic reality the artist must first use his head (logic) to understand the current ideological position on the particular reality that concerns him—guided by the party whose task it is

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to comprehend the ideological reality—rather than first use and trust the artistic interpretation of his senses.

Thus orthodox Socialist Realism comes to mean simply the easiest and most logical way of utilizing art forms to illustrate what is considered to be political truth. What invariably emerges from this type of Socialist Realism might be called "idealistic realism." Human beings and situations are drawn, described, painted, sculptured, photographed in such a way as to personify perfectly—and lifelessly—certain conventionally ideal characteristics, thereby most easily dramatizing their ideological role. The result is tedious, predictable, boring, if we have an eye and ear for the real, no matter at what level of consciousness one chooses to define reality.

We also encounter "idealistic realism" in that horror world of North American mass advertising. It is the same governing style which determines commercial illustrations' tedious characteristics and predictable situations. Art is utilized to illustrate with easy logic and quick comprehension an invariably false and manipulative idea—that buying Colgate toothpaste will make you radiant and beloved, etc. Those who inhabit a North American TV commercial or have peopled the covers of the *Saturday Evening Post* are strikingly similar to the heroes and martyrs of Socialist Realism. In both cases the artist is illustrating the conventional perfection of people who adopt whatever he is selling or "advancing." It is Colgate toothpaste in the one case, socialism in the other (the question of intentions is not here at issue). This sort of thing may be all right for a commercial illustrator in a capitalist society who is alienated from the possibility of making art. But why have *artists* in socialist societies been directed to think and act along these lines?

An ideological viewpoint is like a piece of merchandise—it can be "sold." But if it is *true,* it speaks for itself; it convinces and attracts on the basis of its own glitter. Only shabby goods need be hawked. How true, then, can a "political truth" be if it must be sold like toothpaste? Compare Eisenstein's *10 Days That Shook the World* with Romm's *Lenin in October.* Both films deal with the October Revolution. Eisenstein's version tallies with what we know to be true—that version recorded by John Reed and recommended to us by Lenin. Lenin (and in

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the original version, Trotsky) appear at their dramatic posts in history, and Kerensky hopelessly appears at his. But it is also Eisenstein's vision—the milling mass of armed workers and soldiers who made the Revolution, rising and falling like waves. It is *his* eye for the movement and rhythm of thrust and counter-thrust at Smolny and in the streets. The result is great art and political truth. Romm's version was produced after the total imposition of Socialist Realism in the USSR. The film does not unfold a historical process or action. Nor does the director shape that process with a personal style to make a work of art. Instead the film tries to convey, and sell us on, a set of premises. That Lenin could only trust in Stalin. That only Stalin was loyal to Lenin. Modestly moving into the background upon Lenin's return to Russia, and modestly staying in his shadow, Stalin is, nevertheless, the master mind of the October Revolution. The revolutionary process consists of a few of Stalin's close friends. One rallies *the* key factory, another brings over *the* armored unit, a third hides Lenin. Lenin never says or does anything much. He is too busy being a Kind, Considerate, Modest, Polite, Self-Sacrificing Father to Stalin and his buddies. The fate of the Revolution is determined by a cops-and-robbers chase with police spies while another of Stalin's men single-handedly assaults the Palace. The armed masses are around somewhere and Trotsky figures in a sordid flash. The film is slow, stiff, dreary, and boring. How could it be otherwise? Everybody who worked on that film knew they were engaged in a moral atrocity—no matter what sort of rationalization they provided themselves with in order to do their work. It is obvious that none of them believed in what they were doing. Instead they posed at acting, writing, and directing, utilizing the film form to sell a political lie and make a travesty of art. Eisenstein's responsibility was to himself and his audience to make beauty out of his vision of the truth. What was Romm's responsibility and to whom was he responsible? And what happens when an original artist like Eisenstein is tampered with? When he is forced to shift even a portion of his sense of responsibility in the direction demanded by Socialist Realism?*

*For the answer, see Marie Seton's biography, *Sergei M. Eisenstein.*

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Art and Ideology

In all epochs—but especially in a period of rationalized industrial labor—no matter what ideology an artist may believe in, or express, or reflect, or intend, and no matter what conception he may have of his work, the productive function of an artist differs from that of all other persons in that it depends on a personal, inherently creative, and thus original, act. As in all other vocations, there may be skills, disciplines, and techniques to master, but the ultimate determination of whether or not a man is an artist is the creative act. This is the difference between art and all those functions that border on art, or have historically served as sources of art. This is the difference between an artist whose work is illustrative, and an illustrator. An artist primarily creates—an illustrator primarily illustrates, an entertainer primarily entertains, a decorator primarily decorates, a historian primarily records history, a propagandist primarily agitates, a priest primarily offers sacrifice, an oracle is primarily prophetic, a magician primarily makes magic. Art has been and still is illustration, entertainment, decoration, history, agitation, sacrifice, prophecy, and magic; but while art can and has performed any number of these social functions, its differentiating quality is the presence of the personal creative act as the central and unique experience in the artist's productive function. Therefore we must understand *art as a creative act and not as an intellectual conception.*

Except in the most tenuous of intellectual ways, there is no such thing for artists as "form" and "content." We can start at the beginning: a work of art—be it film, sculpture, painting, a poem—is created as a whole entity. Who can dare to define its elements in conception? Who knows the physiological sources of a man's art? Where is its liver, or kidneys? Where in the body is art. How does the art organ function?*

The next stage is the work of art under its creation. It has a *shape* given to it by various and contradictory elements. One could try—with the intellect—to isolate and list them, but the list is endless, meaningless, absurd. But *it is our emotional sensi-*

*"What is a poet? An unhappy man who conceals deep torments in his heart, but whose lips are so formed that when a groan or shriek streams over them it sounds like beautiful music."—Kierkegaard.

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*tivity to this intellectual absurdity that recognizes the resulting shape as a work of art.** The recognition—appreciation—of art is fundamentally an emotional response. To recognize great art is to tremble.

If you cannot accept this, I ask you to define specifically "form" and "content," using concrete examples. To do so means rationalizing up an abstraction—an intellectual conception—that can be split down the middle by logic, instead of accepting the organic quality of living art.

Therefore, when we recognize a work of art as art, we give it autonomy, we recognize its "content" only in terms of its own ideological definition of reality. An extreme example is a fascinating horror film—the Nazi documentary *Triumph of the Will.* One of the reasons it succeeds is precisely because it has a Nazi intention and Nazi conception of reality. It gives us a slice of truth out of the Nazi Mind. If it is a work of art, this element will be inseparably fused with all the other elements that give it shape. When recognizing it as a work of art, we suspend cerebral moral judgment on its "content" because its "content" does not exist independently of any of the other elements.

When we see a painting by Hieronymus Bosch we know we are witnessing great art. We do not think (and it is impossible to *feel*) that "his form is interesting, but his content is clerico-reactionary pessimism." We accept Bosch's conception of reality as a given element and experience the work in its entirety—as a shape! I do not believe in God, Heaven, or Hell in any conventional sense, but one of the reasons why Bosch is great is because when I look at a particular painting of his it forces me to say—yes, if there is such a thing as Hell, this is it! *All we can demand of a work of art, as art, is for it to succeed, to "make it" on its own terms.*

*To understand the difference between form and shape: form sounds like something at best two-dimensional; an intellectual model, a form into which the substance of art is poured in the manufacturing process of the making. Shape implies a living work, a multi-dimensional entirety of matter and essence at the moment after its birth. Or, "THERE IS NO FORM BUT SHAPE! NO LOGIC BUT SEQUENCE!/SHAPE the cloak and being of love, desire, hatred, hunger. BULK or BODY OF WHAT WE ARE AND STRIVE/for. . . ./"—Michael McClure.

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Marxism is, among other things, a scientific method of analyzing social and cultural phenomena. Some of us may not only be interested in a work of art, as art, but also as an expression of consciousness of social phenomena, in other words, as ideology. Marxist critics have the right to analyze the ideological implications of a work of art, but they must remember when doing so (with all the care, limitations, and modesty demanded by the methods of scientific analysis) that they are analyzing it as ideology, not recognizing it as art.

Art and Audience

The alternative to Socialist Realism is not the dead worlds of academy or fashion. The original artist does not "study" the masters and classics of his genre—instead he sucks up all of their truth. Art never exists for its own sake. Its beauty is the triumph of alchemy. It is a shield of light. Its expression is an ethical necessity. The ethos of art is experienced by the artist and then by his audience, not determined by political expediency. Similarly, it has come again to be understood that the ethos of scientific research in socialist societies is established by scientists and not determined by political expediency.

This sort of relationship to audience that the artist assumes, is opposed to the audience relationship that exists for the Socialist Realist or for the conventional and commercial "artists" in capitalist society. The latter relationship is based on conditioning and imposition. The audience is given advertisements, novels, films, paintings where attributes are imposed on the work and designated as significant—"plot," "character motivation," "story," "subject." If the imposed attribute (and the imposed dependent action) is "plausible," or "agreeable," or "beautiful," or "correct," or "inspiring," or "sophisticated," or "politically useful," or "chic" (in other words, *familiar*)—depending on whatever is the criterion imposed on the audience by the advertising executives, academicians, popular critics, clergy, or party bureaucrats—then the commercial or Socialist Realist work is "good." This is the basis of the supposed popular difficulty in "understanding" original art.* The necessity for artistic

*The argument over "understanding" is not between a Jackson Pol-

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empathy on the part of an audience demands a creative risk; it demands an audience that has sufficient confidence in its capability to experience personally, to trust its experience, and to respond freely. An exploited audience conditioned to respond to the favored imposed critical criteria (the familiar conventional criteria) almost never uniquely experiences. Rather it salivates when the bell goes off, as if it were eating meat.

An audience is not a developing idea—it is only a convenient designation for one or more real men and women in some sort of relationship with a work of art. The appreciation and accretion of great art occur as an audience constantly liberates itself and its creative imagination ("Workers of the World, Unite, *You Have Nothing To Lose* But Your Chains"), not by restricting the artist's—and thus, ultimately, the audience's—imagination.

In art, "story," "plot," "character motivation," "subject," etc.—all the conventional attributes—unfold instead of being imposed on the work. The quality and adventure of art is found by spiralling down the shapely convolutions of the artist's mind. It is the process of the artist's mind and the results of his senses, not the process of his subject or story or plot or characters, that interests or fails to interest us.

An Interlude

The issue is not Socialist Realism vs. abstract expressionist painting, or "free cinema," or atonal music, or "the theatre of the absurd," or "the beat generation." Those are—by definition—journalistic arguments. We are not concerned with specific artistic movements. That whole idea is a dangerous generality, of value to art historians and period writers but irrelevant here. The issue here is Socialist Realism vs. art.

But everything somehow gets in the way of such a discussion—Cold-War polemics, bureaucratic in-fighting, literary politics. A few illustrations:

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lock as against a Goya, or a Van Gogh, or a Monet, or a della Francesca. Rather it is between Pollock-Goya-Van Gogh-Monet-della Francesca as against the *Saturday Evening Post* covers of all epochs and that reactionary "cultured" mentality which, failing to understand that the present is always a flower of the past, cannot trust anything less than a century old.

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(1) The *Dr. Zhivago* case. Pasternak was a pleasant poet. He wrote a tedious and clogged novel. It merited publication in the Soviet Union if only out of comparison to the literary quality of almost everything else by those contemporary Russian writers who are published by the state. The Writers Union sent Pasternak a lengthy letter explaining why the book would not be published. The letter was, I believe, a quite accurate analysis of the book's modest expression of reactionary ideology. It should have appeared in an ideological review upon publication, in Russia, of the book. Nowhere in the letter is there a serious reference to the value of the book as a work of art. Apparently no one at the Union found the book tedious and poorly written. On the contrary, the letter implied a sympathy and admiration for Pasternak as a prose stylist. Men who think and judge and act like this are not artists, nor are they interested in art. They are bureaucrats who have wandered like devastating sheep into fields already too sparse and delicate.

The other side more than rivals for disgust: the politically motivated Nobel Prize award, the pious editorials, the thousands of critical pages and symbolic analyses to prove that this dreary book was the work of the century. For polemics' sake, why didn't any of the Russian bureaucrats remind those official and semi-official Americans defending "culture" that *Lady Chatterley*, Genet's novels, Burroughs' *Naked Lunch*, and most of Henry Miller were prohibited in the United States at that time? No doubt because both sides to the quarrel shared a fundamental ignorance of and indifference to art. And now, five years later, who remembers *Dr. Zhivago*? And why should anyone?

(2) Everybody's official rebel is Evtushenko. This year he is *Time-Life's* favorite poet. I can only read and compare translations. But on that basis Evtushenko's poems are uninteresting and unoriginal—imitation Mayakovski blended with imitation Allen Ginsberg. He is charming and quite chic in his Hollywood sport clothes. He was kind to me in Havana, kinder than I am now being to him. But that is sort of the point. One afternoon, after a few casual encounters, we met for drinks and tried to talk and get to like each other. Eventually he asked me to drop off a short selection of my poems and a photograph at his hotel.

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He was returning to the Soviet Union in a few days and he would have the poems translated and published. He had never read any of my work. One poet can only ask another poet for permission to read the other's unfamiliar work. Evtushenko's kindness was the generous gesture of a likable bureaucrat. Another side to this issue—a month ago I received a letter from an American poet whose work and life has been one of great influence on my generation. He was very disturbed by the Evtushenko case and was writing letters of sympathetic protest to some Russian cultural officials he somehow knew. Would I do the same, he wrote, and join him in drafting a declaration to be signed by young artists and sent privately to Soviet officials, protesting the campaign against artistic freedom, reminding the officials that Evtushenko was a great poet, and asserting that no matter what propaganda-uses the capitalist press was making of the case, the existence of Evtushenko and his poetry had been a major force in the development of a revolutionary consciousness among many young American artists. In its own way his proposal was as muddled as the charges and countercharges flashing back and forth from both official Russian and anti-Communist spokesmen. A campaign had apparently been launched to limit the steady revival of *state-approved* artistic freedom in the Soviet Union. This is to be protested. But that Evtushenko should be hailed as a great poet because he is one of the targets is a case of reverse Socialist Realism. Equally impossible is the deceit that Evtushenko has been an influence in turning a generation of American artists to the Left. It didn't happen that way, and it never could happen that way. Only a flaming revolutionary with the heat of his truth can turn an artist on. Fidel Castro broke through the mistiness and so turned many of us to the Left—in other generations a Lenin, an Eisenstein, a Brecht, a John Reed could have touched us. But never the verse or style of a chic liberal bureaucrat. And what is the issue, precisely, in the Evtushenko case? Is he fighting for the integrity of his art? Then why, *months ago,* did he agree and proceed to change lines in his poem *Babi Yar*? Or are the liberals fighting to maintain personal power and bureaucratic privileges against a rival and more orthodox bloc of Socialist

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Realist bureaucrats? I know from my own experience in Havana that if I have to choose in such circumstances my sentiments will be on the side of the liberals. But as artists they can't interest us. I fear it will be a long time before a state cultural apparatus with a 30-year history as sterile and dishonorable as that of the USSR, will cease to corrupt almost any promising artist who accepts its privileges. There are young artists in the Soviet Union whom I have heard of and whom I worry about. But I wonder whether they are even affected by all of this. They are the young Leningrad bohemia: painters and poets who do not belong to the cultural establishment and presently cannot expect to earn any livelihood from their art. Cut off from the fame and changing fortunes of the culture bureaucracy, the greatest danger they probably face is that of commitment to mental institutions for their impractical and bizarre displays of artistic integrity.

Liberal bureaucrats aren't enough to protect and encourage art in a socialist society. The liberals are so reasonable because they are so sophisticated in the game of compromise. If there is to be a state establishment, large funds to subsidize individual artists and group projects, state operation of publishing houses, etc., then the administration must be as fluid, permissive, and decentralized as can possibly be conceived. And the whole affair must be headed by a madman—a passionate lover of art like Lenin's Minister, Lunacharsky, whose only concern in life is to protect original artists from the bureaucrats.

Art and Socialism

Any skilled ideologue manipulating logic, can, if he cares to, prove that any artistic work is good or bad by standards of Marxist orthodoxy. But the creation (not the imitation) of great art refuses the idea of orthodoxy and refutes logic with its visionary truth. All of the original artists of the socialist world, or of the Left, or of specifically Communist commitment, have been, or can be condemned by manipulating the logic of Socialist Realism: Eisenstein's footage of Trotsky edited out of *10 Days That Shook the World,* his *Bezhin Meadows* suppressed as "formalism" and *Ivan (Part 2)* withheld for fifteen

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(*continued from page* 383)

years. Pudovkin, Meyerhold, Brecht, the German Expressionists, Picasso, for "formalism." Leger, a member of the French Party, still refused a show in Moscow. Mayakovsky, Isadora Duncan, John Wieners, the early Neruda, for "bourgeois individualism." Jean Vigo for "petit-bourgeois anarchy," Ginsberg, Kerouac, Henry Miller, for "nihilism," Essenin for "decadent romanticism," Kandinsky, Tatlin, Malevich, for "idealism," Breton, the young Aragon, for "subjectivism," Babel, Nathaniel West, for "bourgeois pessimism," Sartre for "idealism," Burroughs, Irving Rosenthal, Jack Smith, Genet for "decadence," Wajda (the Polish director of *Ashes and Diamonds*) for "anti-party defeatism." Wherever there is an original artist who is also a revolutionary, let his name be added to the list!

Mao Tse-tung has written: "Revolution is not a dinner party, nor an essay, nor a painting, nor a piece of embroidery; it cannot be advanced softly, gradually, carefully, considerately, respectfully, politely, and modestly." I trust what Mao Tse-tung writes about revolution. He understands revolution, he leads the greatest one in history, and he still believes in revolution. But to include painting, and thereby by inference art, among the social graces is to not understand art. Great art is revolution. It liberates. It has its own unfolding historical laws. It is apocalyptic, it is visionary, it is sustained by the faith and fire of those who believe and practice it, it is in constant movement, it thrives on contradictions, it cannot be repressed, it is inevitable.

Socialist Realism dies a very slow death in much of the socialist world. Even when all of the world has abandoned Socialist Realism as official state and party policy, the current Marxist-Leninist ideology will live uneasily with art. For the practice and appreciation of art obviously imply that the creator and his audience are comfortable in a world willing to explore subjective definitions of reality; to explore all levels of consciousness, subconscious attitudes, memories, and fantasies; and to investigate and develop any forms of psychic perception that may be available to man but are presently dormant in a civilization that we have inherited from industrial capitalism. Such a

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world is frightening if not incomprehensible to a late 19th-century mechanistic psychology. A socialism that is scientific will be enriched and in harmony with the 20th-century developments in art and science. As Marx pointed out—and as Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, and Fidel Castro have proved—Marxism is scientific because it can *never* become "orthodox."

Is passive resistance the only available answer to racist violence?

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Guiana

When revolution disturbs or upsets a way of life, the supporters of the threatened system counter the revolution by organizing and acting to put things back the way they were. In human society as in physics, action and reaction tend to be equal and opposite.

British Guiana has had a socialist government since 1953. Three general elections during the decade have resulted each time in a political victory for socialism. While the People's Progressive Party government has worked for socialism the Guiana economy has remained overwhelmingly capitalist. Various issues, including racism, have enlivened the political campaigns, but the basic question, capitalism or socialism, has overshadowed all others.

Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan and his associates assume that under the peculiar conditions existing in British Guiana socialism can be established by agitation, education, and popular election. Experience has proved this assumption to be politically sound for British Guiana. But there are other forces in play that range far beyond the ballot box, and thus far have been decisive against socialism.

First among these forces is a British government administered by a Tory majority in the House of Commons and a Tory Prime Minister. British Guiana is a Crown Colony. The People's Progressive Party demands independence. British Tories stand pat against it. Police power and the conduct of foreign affairs are directed from London. British Guiana's Governor is appointed by the Crown.

Second among the forces determining the overall course of Guianese political life is the ultra-conservative capitalist government in Washington. In the name of the Monroe Doctrine and in furtherance of its anti-Communist program, Washington steadfastly opposes any type of socialism in the Western Hemi-

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sphere. Despite repeated requests from the Jagan government, Washington has continued its opposition to independence for British Guiana so long as socialists control its government. In the meantime it refuses aid to the socialist government.

Third among the forces that are shaping Guianese policy is the opposition to the People's Progressive Party, composed of Guianese business interests, an openly racist party led by Forbes Burnham, and the Guianese Trades Union Congress.

Having failed to upset the PPP grip on the government in the course of three elections, the opposition has turned to direct action. In February, 1962, direct action took the form of rioting, burning, and looting that destroyed a large part of Georgetown's downtown business area. In the spring of 1963 it took the form of an eleven-week general strike, conducted by the Trades Union Congress and financed from the United States. The general strike was accompanied by rioting, burning, looting, and assassination.

Writing in the British *Labour Monthly* for September, 1963, Dr. Jagan describes the 1963 general strike as "the second phase of the counter-revolutionary battle," and characterizes it as "open rebellion."

Guiana's People's Progressive Party stands for law, order, and parliamentary procedures. The counter-revolution, defeated at the polls, is using the torch and the gun to oppose the advance of socialism.

Live Without Learning

"Live and learn" is an adage that has by-passed United States policy makers. Three years ago Fidel Castro, having won power in Cuba, betook himself to Washington in search of aid for Cuba's disrupted economy. Castro's move was logical. At that time the United States was Cuba's chief sugar customer, and chief overseas supplier of Cuba's food and machinery.

Washington cold-shouldered Castro, who then turned to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries where he found a market for Cuba's sugar crop and a source of Cuba's desperately needed food, fuel, and machine parts. Within a few months Cuba's urgent economic needs were being supplied not by the capitalist West but by the socialist East.

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Two years ago the Prime Minister of an avowedly socialist administration in British Guiana betook himself to Washington in search of the economic assistance which he had been unable to get from Great Britain. Unlike Cuba, Guiana was not economically tied to the United States, but like Cuba the Guianese administration, aiming at political and economic independence, needed temporary assistance to broaden its economic base. Like Castro, Jagan left Washington empty-handed.

Meanwhile, Jagan's enemies, with political and economic backing from the United States, staged an eleven-week general strike which seriously disrupted the economy. During the strike sorely needed food and fuel oil were supplied by the Cuban Government. Again Dr. Jagan applied to Washington for aid. Again he got the cold shoulder. On September 10, 1963, the Soviet Union declared its willingness to provide British Guiana with "ample" economic aid to break the "imperialist blockade" against the Jagan regime.

The people of Cuba and Guiana must live. Representatives of both socialist governments have gone first to Washington in their search for the technical means of economic advancement. Both were refused. Both turned to the socialists and received the aid so necessary for their economic welfare. In relations between governments, as elsewhere, a helping hand is more likely to make friends than a slap in the face.

Yankee, Get Out!

People's Korea, in its issue of August 14, 1963, published an editorial welcoming the 18th anniversary of Korean liberation, on August 15, 1945, and declaring:

> Our fatherland, which was a backward agricultural country in the past, has been turned into a powerful socialist industrial-agricultural country with the solid base of a self-supporting national economy. As a result, the people in the northern half of the Republic are leading a happy, hopeful, and new life without worry about food, clothing, and housing. But how do things stand now in South Korea, liberated on the same day?
>
> In a word, today South Korea has been turned into a dark hell on earth where famine, unemployment, and poverty are dominant, and a human slaughter-house in which terror, plunder, and murder are rampant.

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The root cause of all the sufferings and tribulations resides in the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. imperialists, the mortal enemy of the Korean people.

Upon setting foot on South Korea, the U.S. imperialists were hell-bent on converting it into their permanent colony. . . . The U.S. imperialists not only flagrantly violated the Potsdam Declaration and the decision of the Three Power Foreign Ministers in Moscow, but finally, in 1950, unleashed an aggressive war against Korea. . . .

On the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the August 15 Liberation, we once again strongly demand the U.S. imperialists withdraw immediately from South Korea.

President Kennedy recently announced that Washington was maintaining in South Korea an occupying army of three divisions "for purely defensive purposes." The U.S. *Statistical Abstract* for 1962 (page 866) reports United States Government net foreign assistance to Korea (1945-1961) as $3,056 million. Washington's "aid" to South Korea has involved military occupation, economic stagnation, and social disintegration.

The Hucksters Invade "Science"

Huckster 1. *A peddler or hawker of wares;*
2. *A mean, haggling tradesman; tricky, mercenary peddler;*
3. *(Colloquial) An advertising man.*
—Webster, *New World Dictionary*

Some of us have watched with growing dismay while advertisers took over the public press of the United States: dailies, weeklies, monthlies, the specialized journals of travel, literature, art, science, and technology. *Science,* official organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has suffered the same fate.

As a member of the AAAS, I receive *Science* regularly. On my desk is the current number (Volume 141, No. 3585, dated September 13, 1963). The bulk of the magazine is divided almost equally between 65 full pages of reading matter and 63 full pages of advertisements. In addition to these 128 full pages of reading matter and ads, 3 pages carried one column of ads and 2 columns of reading matter; 3 pages were half reading matter and half ads; 22 pages carried 2 columns of ads and one

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of reading matter; 1 page carried 2½ columns of ads and ½ column of reading matter. Colored "readers service" card ads (a half page in size) were inserted between pages 962 and 965, and 1096 and 1099. Inside front cover and inside and outside back covers were among the 63 pages entirely devoted to ads.

On the yardstick basis, *Science*, like so many of its magazine contemporaries, has become a house-organ of United States advertisers, carrying enough reading matter to tempt the scientifically minded to thumb through the advertising refuse in search of pay dirt.

A journal dedicated to science still publishes articles, notes, and announcements of interest to scientists. This task, however, is quite incidental to its chief function—enabling the hucksters to bawl their profit-yielding wares into the ears of an incredibly patient and long-suffering public.

Rumania's Big Leap

Any country that decides and plans to shift from an economy based mainly on farming, forestry, and mining to an economy based mainly on manufacturing and merchandizing must make a big leap. The sensation implicit in this leap is like that of the swimmer who plunges deliberately into very cold water.

The Soviet Union plunged, experimentally, between 1920 and 1928. It plunged decisively in 1928, with the first Five Year Plan.

Eastern Europe's seven socialist countries plunged after war's end in 1945. Among these seven East European builders of socialism, Rumania occupies a distinctive place. First, because of its success in planning, building, and stabilizing the industrial sector of its economy; second, because of its success in collectivizing its agriculture with a minimum of friction and hardship; third, because of its success in converting an essentially class culture into a people's culture; fourth, because of its success in progressively raising the Rumanian people's standard of living in the countryside as well as in the cities and towns; and fifth, because of its success in maintaining a domestic balance between production and consumer needs, between agriculture and industry, between consumption and investment, and a favorable

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balance of international payments.

Central to this series of successes has been the conversion of agriculture from a planless, chaotic, privately managed pattern to a group of planned collective enterprises. The means of making the big leap has been provided by the rapid planned expansion of (1) mechanical power, (2) the iron and steel and machine building industries, and (3) corresponding developments in transportation, communication, and administration of the economy.

Capital investments during the current six year plan are allocated: 32 percent for expanding mechanical power; 23 percent for iron and steel and machine building, and 11 percent for light industry (including food production). During the first half of the six year plan (1960-1965) overall industrial output has increased 55 percent (a yearly average of 15.8 percent). Machine building has increased 70 percent, chemicals 80 percent, and electric power 69 percent. By 1961 industry accounted for 45 percent of the national income.

Starting in 1950 with a static economy, predominantly agricultural, Rumania by 1963 has developed a dynamic economy which is predominantly industrial, with a stabilized, relatively rapid rate of growth and a rising standard of living.

Rumania, with a 1961 population of 18½ millions, is a small country by comparison with the giants, but it has achieved a stability and a capacity for planned improvement that might be advantageously duplicated by countries with greater wealth and larger populations.

Money and Power Still Talk

Great Britain's proud tradition of freedom to come and go was tossed aside late in August, 1963, when the Home Secretary refused permission for representatives of the Berliner Ensemble, Bertolt Brecht's famous theatre in East Berlin, to visit Edinburgh for the September International Drama Conference. A letter from the Home Office explained the ban: "The present international situation is such that it was thought politic to refuse visas to persons of a country with a government which we do not recognize." The word "politic" is a polite reference to State Department influence in British public life.

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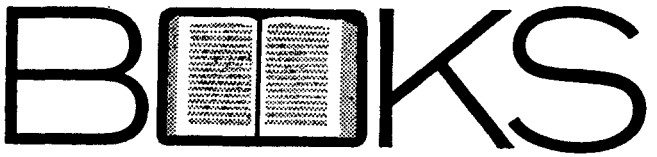

THE RELUCTANT REBEL

BY RALPH MILIBAND

Aneurin Bevan never held a decisive share of power in the Labour Party and there are many others in the Labour movement in this century who have achieved greater eminence, wielded more influence, attracted greater devotion. Yet, there is no Labour leader whose stature does not in some way suffer by comparison with Bevan; and though Mr. Foot does not himself push the claim in this captivating first volume of Bevan's biography,* there is an excellent case to be made for the view that Bevan is the only Labour politician in this century about whom there unmistakably clings that special quality which distinguishes the really first-rate from the merely powerful and eminent.

The reasons for this pre-eminence do not lie, or do not solely lie, in Bevan's gifts of mind and personality; these were remarkable but hardly unique. Nor is it that Bevan made his way from unpromising beginnings. He did know bitter poverty; he went down the mines at fourteen; he endured years of unemployment; *and* he had a terrible youthful stutter. But Keir Hardie, MacDonald, Bevin and many others started from even more difficult circumstances, and travelled further. Moreover, Bevan had some precious compensations—the security of a loving family, deep roots in a tightly knit mining community with a common style of life and shared values. Tredegar, and later, Ebbw Vale gave him a firm base, a fixed anchorage, enduring friendships; most of all, they gave him a fierce sense of identification with working-class ills and grievances.

What was really distinctive about Bevan lay elsewhere —

Ralph Miliband teaches political science at the London School of Economics. This review first appeared in the *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, the University of Sheffield, Sheffield, England.

*Michael Foot, *Aneurin Bevan, Volume I: 1897-1945*, Atheneum, 1963, $7.50.

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above all in his outstanding capacity for detached rumination, in his sense of perspective, in his ability, as Mr. Foot puts it, "to elaborate his theme with the broadest philosophical sweep, to relate the immediate problems of his audience to the history of working-class struggle and to his own individual vision of a new society." This has always been an exceedingly rare attribute in Labour politicians: the younger MacDonald is the only other one who had something of the same capacity for relating the immediate event to the broader view. In MacDonald's case, however, the broader view led to a dilution rather than a sharpening of principle and purpose.

Bevan's only formal education after he left primary school in Tredegar was the two years he spent between 1919 and 1921 at the Central Labour College in London, on a scholarship from the South Wales Miners' Federation. Even those two years were only a continuation of a process of intensive self-education in which he had been engaged ever since leaving school. Bevan was self-taught, with all the range and flexibility, the speculative boldness and the imaginative perceptions which self-education produces in really gifted minds, and which organized education so often makes it its business to stifle. The world view which he fashioned for himself was solidly grounded in, rather than contained by, Marxism; at the core of that view was the conception of politics as a permanent struggle between property and privilege on the one side, and the organized workers on the other, with the possession of the state for the purpose of recasting the social order as the biggest and only worthwhile prize of the struggle. Many men who have played an important role in the Labour movement have started with the same kind of ideological baggage, but have discarded it fairly early on the way as burdensome and inconvenient. All that Bevan discarded was his youthful syndicalism; this apart, he held to his early view of the nature of politics with remarkable consistency.

Holding the views he did, it was inevitable that Bevan should have been a rebel within the Labour Party. Yet, as Mr. Foot rightly insists, Bevan was "a most reluctant rebel; he passionately wanted to work within the Labour Party and thought nothing could be achieved outside it." To risk expulsion was an occupational hazard which his kind of socialist in the Labour Party could not escape without betraying his convictions. But Bevan had no craving for martyrdom, nor is there anything to suggest that he was ever tempted to look to any other party. He worked with Communists and members of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) and he was a

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leading supporter of Mosley in the latter's campaign during the 1929 Parliament against the Labour Government's handling of unemployment, as he was also one of the I.L.P.er's most vehement Labour allies in the attack on the Government's treatment of the unemployed. But he never thought of cutting himself off from the Labour Party and he did his best to dissuade Jennie Lee from staying with the I.L.P. and others from having anything to do with Mosley's New Party. Not only was Bevan a reluctant rebel; he was also a very poor conspirator or joiner of factions. He would not join the Socialist League when it was formed in 1932; and he was also the least zealous and assiduous of the Bevanites after 1951.

Reluctant or not, rebels are still rebels, and they are not loved by party leaders. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Bevan's career is that, with a persistent record of leftism, rebellion, opposition and expulsion, he forced his way into the leadership of the Labour Party. The measure of his achievement is that no other rebel has ever done it. The nearest parallel is Stafford Cripps, and Cripps had moved a long way from his pre-war crusading by 1945. The reverse is true of Bevan, in the sense that his record, from the leadership point of view, became steadily worse. When he entered the Cabinet as Minister of Health in 1945, he had behind him five years of strenuous opposition to the Churchill Coalition and of sharp attacks upon its Labour members. This is surely the only case in British politics in this century, with the possible exception of Churchill, in which such conduct has been thus rewarded. It would be foolish to think that Bevan owed his achievement to his own gifts alone, and even more foolish to attribute his inclusion in the 1945 Cabinet to Attlee's generosity of spirit. Bevan would never have got into the Cabinet if Attlee had not found it politically imperative to bring him in. What made it expedient was Bevan's immense popularity with the Labour rank and file in the constituency parties, who had elected him to the National Executive Committee the first time he had stood for it, in 1944. If ever the constituency parties have weighed in the composition of a Labour Administration, it was then, when Bevan had become the standard bearer of the Left, at the time when the political current was flowing exceptionally strongly in favor of the Left.

Bevan was first elected to Parliament in 1929, at the age of thirty-two. He had until then had a strictly local field of activity, as member of the Tredegar Urban District Council, as a minor official of the South Wales Miners' Federation and, from 1928, as a member of the Monmouthshire County Council. Once an M.P., Bevan immediately took his place on the

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far Left of the parliamentary party, a position that was guaranteed to make him deeply unpopular with the overwhelming majority of his parliamentary colleagues. There were probably very few Labour M.P.s in the 1929 Parliament who were not aware of and concerned with the Government's failure to do anything about either unemployment or the treatment of the unemployed and their families. But the fact remains that it was only a very small number of Labour M.P.s who were willing openly to criticize the Government and to try and push it into activity; the rest chose loyal support for their leaders, right up to the crash of 1931. Bevan was also one of the most conspicuously energetic spokesmen for the unemployed after 1931, in Parliament and also outside, and one of the very few Labour M.P.s who actively supported the Hunger Marches and other unemployed demonstrations organized under the auspices of the Communist-controlled National Unemployed Workers' Movement. Until the mid-thirties, such associations were not deemed to be clear evidence of unfitness to belong to the Labour Party, but they made for much unpopularity with a parliamentary and industrial leadership which viewed such extra-parliamentary forms of political pressure with distaste, no matter under whose auspices it was organized.

Mr. Foot also records in detail Bevan's part in the struggle against the appeasers in the 1935 Parliament. Here too, Bevan was bound to come up against the leadership, whose own opposition to the Government was normally weak, indecisive and sluggish. At the same time, Bevan himself shared to the full the Labour Left's own ambiguities and contradictions over rearmament, and Mr. Foot is here much too lenient to his subject. "No one," Mr. Foot notes, "urged more forcibly than Bevan that the Government's arms program must be relentlessly opposed"; nor did anyone, he shows, more forcibly demand resolute opposition to Fascist aggression. Bevan and his allies (except for the small pacifist group) would have supported rearmament by a Labour Government; but such a Government was nowhere in sight; and the argument that a Conservative Government must be denied arms because it would use arms for reactionary purposes rested on a presupposition which the Labour Left itself ardently (and quite rightly) denied, namely that the Labour movement could have no influence upon the policies and purposes of a Conservative Government. Bevan's arguments in defense of his position (see pp. 251 and 266) are most uncharacteristically murky and tortured, and this is also the one part of Mr. Foot's narrative which strains the case for Bevan and which smacks of apologetics. Nor is the Labour Left's case improved

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by insisting, however justifiably, on the shortcomings and derelictions of those who had effective charge of the Labour movement at that time.

In the more or less permanent conflict between the Labour leadership and its critics on the Left in the late thirties, the limelight was held, not by Bevan, but by Cripps. In the Unity Campaign of 1937 and in the Popular Front agitation of 1938, it was Cripps who appeared as the leader of the Labour Left, insofar as the Labour Left could be said to be led at all; and it was Cripps above all whom the party leaders were determined to drum out of the Labour Party in 1939. It was only during the war, as Mr. Foot notes, that Bevan, "escaping from the shadowy position of Cripps's first lieutenant, became the indisputed, almost idolized leader of the Left within the Labour Party." Bevan's "shadowy position" before the war does not render any the less absorbing the story of his life and struggles; and since so much of Labour history is written from a vaguely Lib-Lab point of view, it is useful and refreshing to have the view from the Left so ably set down. Nevertheless, it is the second part of Mr. Foot's book, that which deals with Bevan's role in war time, which makes the greater contribution to Labour history. Mr. Foot devotes more than two hundred of his five hundred page book to the years 1940-1945. This arrangement, which seems at first sight rather unbalanced, turns out to be entirely justified, and provides an excellent survey of Labour in the Second World War.

The reason why Bevan occupied a relatively small corner of the political field until the war is not that he was overshadowed by Cripps, or that it was only then that he discovered his talents, or that other people only then discovered them; the reason is that the nature of the British parliamentary and party system made it easy for Bevan's leaders to contain and defeat the challenge which he and others like him posed to their control of the party and its policies. Precisely the same happened to Winston Churchill, who was similarly contained by *his* leaders, a major difference between the Conservative and Labour Parties being that the Conservatives wielded the disciplinary stick with rather less enthusiasm. It took military disaster to bring Churchill to power, and it took Labour's entry into the Churchill Government to create a political situation in which Bevan could exercise his talents to the full.

All Labour leaders—Attlee, Bevin, Dalton, Morrison—were in office throughout the war, and so was Cripps. The Labour ministers had the wholehearted support of the parliamentary party and of the trade union leaders, and though there were occasional rumblings and minor revolts, opposition was intermit-

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tent and generally muted. Most Labour members, and Labour ministers in particular, found the demands of war a sufficient justification for acquiescence in the Government's conduct of affairs. It is, of course, possible that they might have been somewhat more awkward, the war notwithstanding, if they had brought to their consideration of problems a sharper Socialist focus; the Memoirs of Attlee, Morrison and Dalton, as well as much other evidence, would tend to suggest that they did not. It was just such a focus which made Bevan the leading and most persistent critic of the Government, the only one of Churchill's opponents to earn the label "squalid nuisance," a description which the Prime Minister's Labour colleagues must have heartily endorsed.

Bevan's opposition was not, of course, to the war itself, but to the manner of its prosecution, both in relation to strategy and to the management of affairs at home. The House of Commons afforded him one forum; *Tribune*, of which he became the Editor in 1942, provided him with another. He was sometimes wrong in his criticisms and attacks; and he sometimes seemed merely fractious; but Mr. Foot has no difficulty in showing, in the light of evidence which has appeared since the war, how often Bevan was right in his criticisms, even though he often had to rely on slight information upon which to base his case; nor, of course, did final victory constitute a refutation of Bevan's strictures.

Unlike most of his colleagues, Bevan did not accept the view that the conduct of the war, in the field or at home, had no political connotations, and that the formation of the coalition had robbed public issues of their political content. In fact, there was no issue, Bevan argued, which would be dealt with outside a political and ideological context; the Government's policy, whether in relation to the production of coal in Britain, or the opening of a Second Front in Western Europe, or the resistance movements in Italy and Greece, or the future of India, all testified to very concrete political preoccupations.

This being so, Bevan's quarrel with the Labour ministers was that they consistently failed to press a distinctive Labour viewpoint upon Churchill and his colleagues. The Coalition, he claimed, was not an alliance of equal partners, but a Conservative administration with weak Labour representation. It does not, at this distance, seem an altogether absurd view.

The gulf between Bevan and Labour ministers progressively widened as the war moved to a close and questions of post-war reconstruction came to obtrude ever more insistently on wartime politics. Bevan, it seems clear, exaggerated the danger that the Labour leaders would wish to perpetuate the Coalition beyond necessity. But he was not exaggerating the likeli-

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hood that they would be content to envisage post-war Labour policy in terms of a continuation of state intervention in economic life, with a more pronounced emphasis than in the past upon welfare—but without any attempt at going beyond Keynes and Beveridge. Bevan for his own part was speaking in 1944 of a transfer to power in Britain on the basis of a major extension of public ownership up to the point where "the principal economic activities of society are articulated by means of a dominating sector of publicly owned industries." Labour's program never went as far as that. But it went a good deal further than the Labour leaders had thought appropriate, mainly because of the insistence by the 1944 Annual Conference, against the advice of the leadership, that specific nationalization proposals must form part of the Labour Party's election program. The radical impulse which underlay that insistence was fed from a multitude of sources; but there is no one, with the exception of Harold Laski, who had done more than Bevan to give coherence to its expression.

This first volume of Mr. Foot's biography tells the story of Bevan the rebel and the outsider, and tells it very well; but the most difficult part of Mr. Foot's task is surely still to come. For despite all the frustrations and difficulties which Bevan encountered up to 1945, his political career was free from inner tension and gnawing contradiction between place and principle: as a left-wing Socialist in the Labour Party, unable or unwilling to secure any position of responsibility, Bevan suffered all the frustrations, but also enjoyed the relative freedom, of the outsider. In 1945, there begins a very different story, with Bevan, still the left-wing Socialist, now required to work and to share responsibility with the same men whom he had so long opposed, and who still found many of his views dangerous or incomprehensible. Applied to a situation so fraught with terrible dilemmas, the sympathetic and subtle understanding which Mr. Foot brings to his study could well make his second volume a really great essay in political and personal tragedy.

Incessant propaganda is aimed at making the people believe that they have held power for a long time and that the present state of affairs is the result of their failure to use it properly, when in fact they have hardly started to use it at all. In this fashion the people have their self-confidence undermined and the way is prepared to hand power over to a class of so-called exceptional people, or to a Leader who is assumed to have virtues they are supposed to lack.

—*Aneurin Bevan, In Place Of Fear*

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LOOKING FORWARD

BY AN ECONOMIC OBSERVER

Most of the scientists and engineers that were ever born are alive today, which means that the breath-taking advances in technology of the past generation are but a mild foretaste of what will come in the next. Speculations on the shape of things to come are the burden of a spate of recent books noted below, which suggest that we may be poorly prepared for the economic, social, and political consequences of this coming technological explosion.

Speculations about the future have an honored place in literature, as in the great Utopias which embody a belief in the perfectibility of man and the ultimate achievement of the Good Society—expressions of man's noblest aspirations. Consider, for example, the remarkable vision of the French revolutionary Condorcet who in 1794 predicted that by 1950 all the colonies of the new world and Asia and Africa would achieve economic and political independence, and that wars would be outlawed, along with all inequalities in sex, wealth, and education, and other impediments to the advance of science. (This exuberant forecast, made in the early dawn of the bourgeois revolution, makes an interesting contrast with the gloom and pessimism of latter-day bourgeois forecasts, such as Huxley's *Brave New World* and Orwell's *1984*.) I shall try to show that Condorcet may have been right in everything but his timing—and that even there he may not have been off by more than a half century. This is the burden of Fritz Baade's *Race To The Year 2000*, published by Doubleday in 1962, $4.95.

This book, a remarkable work which has been widely read abroad and has become a beacon light particularly for intellectuals in the underdeveloped nations, has been almost completely ignored in the United States. It offers a set of projections of population and resource consumption for all nations of the world to the year 2000, which show that the specter of scarcity has no economic foundation. A similar set of projections to the same year, pointing to the same conclusions, but restricted to the U.S., may be found in a recent Ford

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The author is a professional economist who has contributed to *MR* before, most recently the article "Idle Machines" which appeared in the issue of June, 1962.

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Foundation study entitled *Resources in America's Future,* by H. Landsberg, J. Fisher, and L. Fishman. Baade goes further, however, arguing that scarcity will be overcome in the underdeveloped as well as the advanced areas, and this in spite of the population explosion of the next four decades.

Baade sees the doubling of the world's population in this period as a fact which cannot be changed by anything other than nuclear war, and this fact will profoundly alter the course of world history. Of the more than 6 billion persons who will be alive in 2000, fewer than one billion will live in the countries now constituting the Western World. The most important thing about the remaining 5 billion is that they will be alive and will not be dying of disease, starvation, and other bugaboos raised by the neo-Malthusians.

As Baade sees it, the population explosion in the underdeveloped nations is due solely to the world-wide spread of Western ideas of health and sanitation, which, once started, is irreversible. With the resulting sharp drop in mortality rates, population spurts ahead in the second stage of the typical population growth curve, as has happened in every Western country in the 18th and 19th centuries. This growth stabilizes in the third and fourth stages when, with the emergence of industrialization and urbanization, birth rates fall. Baade predicts that this stage will be reached on a world-wide scale in the 21st century, when world population may go as high as 10 billion.

Is there room and food enough for so large a number? Baade, in a series of brilliant surveys of the food, energy, and mineral resources of the world, proves beyond all doubt that the technology of food production which is *now* being utilized in advanced countries, could, if applied equally to all areas of land surface presently suitable for cultivation, provide enough food for 38 billion persons. This calculation is made without allowance for future breakthroughs, such as farming the oceans or the production of synthetic protein from oil. And there are similar reserves of fuel, energy, and all basic resources. Such is the latent power of modern technology!

The knowledge of this power is abroad in all lands and therefore cannot be suppressed or withheld. This fact seems so painful to some bourgeois observers that they fall back on essentially racist denials of the ability of the underdeveloped countries to absorb the fruits of modern science. Thus, Ferdinand Lundberg, in his recently published *The Coming World Transformation,* asserts that neither China nor India will ever achieve significant industrialization. This book is in reality nothing but a foolish potpourri of halfbaked platitudes and misstatements of fact which serves only to illustrate

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the fear with which some observers view the future. Lundberg's projection of the balance of power 100 years from now merely recreates the Cold War line-up of today, very much in the manner of those science fiction writers who project battles between Communist and "free world" forces in interstellar space.

The truth is that in the perspective of the long sweep of history the Western advantage can be seen as a transient reflection of the historical accident that the scientific method first emerged in Europe in a given epoch. This is not meant to minimize the pain and time which will be required for the underdeveloped countries to make the "great ascent," particularly in the next two decades. What Baade is saying is simply that those who think that the peoples of the awakening backward areas will allow their ranks to be decimated through ignorance are believing in a fairy tale. If feudal or colonial institutions stand in the way, the human desire for survival will sweep them aside. Baade is voicing the conviction of an intelligent Westerner (in this case it is perhaps significant that Baade is head of a leading economic research institute in West Germany) that the West had better play a part in this process—or else.

The meaning of "or else" can be seen in the table (next page) which summarizes the results of the population and productivity trends that will most probably be at work in the next 40 years, for the three major political divisions of the world. This table offers a realistic, albeit highly compressed, forecast of the balance of power among the three blocs, mainly along the lines envisioned by Baade. More detailed breakdowns of both population and output, taken from or suggested by various UN statistical reports, have been added.

Let us first dispose of some technical issues involved in constructing the table. There will probably be little argument about the population projections, although the widest margin of error affects the estimates for the underdeveloped areas. The annual rates of gain used here are, with only slight modification, those actually recorded in the 1950-1960 decade. Here, it is interesting to note that both the United States and USSR have in this period registered fairly high gains of 1.7 percent, an annual rate associated with what Baade distinguishes as the third stage of the typical population growth curve. The 0.7 percent annual growth registered in Western Europe is closer to the fourth stage, in which relative stability can be expected. Underdeveloped areas probably expanded at an annual rate of about 2.4 percent in the past 10 years, being in the second stage of rapid growth. If Baade's basic assumption is right, these rates will dip slightly in the coming

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WORLD POPULATION AND OUTPUT, 1960-2000

Country	1960 Population (Millions)	1960 $ Output Per Capita	1960 Output (Billions)	Average Annual Percentage Gains Population	Average Annual Percentage Gains Output Per Capita	2000 Population (Millions)	2000 $ Output Per Capita	2000 Output (Billions)
Western World								
United States	180	2,200	$ 400	1.6	1.1	330	3,410	$1,125
Canada	18	1,400	25	1.6	1.8	34	2,086	71
West Europe	300	830	250	0.7	3.5	403	3,286	1,324
Japan	94	300	28	1.1	5.0	146	2,112	306
Australia	10	1,100	11	2.3	2.5	24	2,959	71
South Africa	15	350	5	2.0	2.5	33	1,386	46
Total	617	1,160	715			970	3,034	2,943
Socialist Bloc								
U.S.S.R.	210	1,190	250	1.7	5.0	414	8,378	3,468
East Europe	120	450	54	1.2	5.0	192	3,168	608
China	700	75	50	2.2	5.0	1,650	528	871
Total	1,030	344	354			2,256	2,193	4,947
Rest of the World	1,350	100	135	2.2	5.0	3,180	704	2,239
World Totals	3,000	400	1,204			6,406	1,581	10,129

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years: we have therefore set the rate for this period at 2.2 percent. Note well, however, that even if these areas could cut the rate of gain down to that of the United States, their population in 2000 would be "only" 2.6 billion rather than 3.2 billion. Thus, any possible drop in their rates of gain through dissemination of birth control techniques, unrelated to increasing urbanization, can be seen to count for relatively little. These countries have to make the great ascent, or else must passively suffer the deaths of hundreds of millions.

The table also shows current and projected output for the three blocs, expressed in terms of U.S. dollars and 1960 prices. For the United States and the Soviet Union, military output, both current and future, is omitted because such output is self-cancelling and irrelevant to the future balance of power. For all other countries, output is GNP in dollars. The output of the USSR is estimated conservatively at 62 percent of that of the U.S. in 1960. The fact that this figure assigns to the Soviet population a per capita output level far in excess of that of Western Europe in the face of obvious disparities in living standards merely reflects the greater Soviet emphasis on investment which permits rapid productivity gains. The most backward of the underdeveloped nations have per capita incomes close to the $50 subsistence level, which assumes that a person can be kept alive for 14 cents per day. In the table, China is conservatively assumed to have a per capita income of $75 in 1960 after 10 years of development from subsistence levels. Per capita income for the rest of the world is taken at $100. More precise estimates are not available, but if they were they would not change the picture in any substantial way.

The real impact of future changes in population relations comes when we project into the future the actual annual gains in per capita output that have been registered by all areas in the 1950-1960 decade. For the United States, for example, this figure comes to 1.1 percent. According to UN studies, all of the socialist countries appear to have registered annual gains in output per capita in the last 10 years of well over 5 percent. Western Europe and other parts of the Western world enjoyed per capita gains in this period of between 2.5 and 3.5 percent. While it is doubtful that so high a rate can be indefinitely sustained in market economies, we have nevertheless used these recorded gains in our projections. The only projected rate not based on actual experience is the 5 percent output per capita gain assigned to the underdeveloped rest of the world, which has probably sustained losses in per capita output levels in the last 10 years, due to increasingly unfavorable terms of trade. But here again, we fall back on

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Baade's basic assumption: since these countries now know that such gains are possible, they will sooner or later be realized.

How will the world of 2000 look, then, if we assume that the present three-way political division remains unchanged? Note first that the United States' share of world output, amounting to one-third of the total in 1960, will come down to 11 percent by 2000. The Western world, if still intact, will account for 29 percent of world output (as against nearly 60 percent in 1960), though its per capita levels will remain more than twice that of the rest of the world. Indeed if the West can really sustain its current rate of productivity gain for 40 years, its future living standard can be quite high. It should be noted, however, that the high average level of income and consumption in Western countries conceals wide variations within each country. Because the demand for unskilled labor lessens with automation, it is likely that in these countries increasing numbers will remain poor, though they may be supported on fairly high subsistence levels by an affluent society. At the opposite end of the scale, the families of the technical elite charged with the responsibility of running an automated economy may well be earning and spending at extremely high levels.

Turning to the socialist world, we see from the table that by the year 2000 the real fruits of modern technology will be enjoyed by the 400 million residents of the USSR, with incomes of over $8,000 per capita —a simple result of a 5 percent annual productivity gain compounded over 40 years. To be sure, it is doubtful that more than a third of this huge sum would be devoted to satisfying internal domestic needs, in the face of the relatively low per capita output levels of the rest of the world. Evidently, the Soviet Union would be in a position greatly to speed up the industrialization of the rest of the world, which in any case will have made a good start by that time, with per capita output levels roughly equivalent to those of, say, Italy today.

These speculations point to one basic conclusion. There is only one task facing mankind today that is large enough (and noble enough) to engage the full potential of modern technology. This is not the conquest of space, but the eradication of poverty from the face of the earth—the dream of the great Utopians and of Condorcet. In this perspective the American obsession with bombs, missiles, and consumer affluence will be increasingly recognized to be as obscene as the complacence of French royalty on the eve of the French Revolution.

Against this background, it is possible to discuss with some literally "down-to-earth" realism the changes to be wrought by science in the coming period. The popularity of science fic-

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tion and of Sunday supplement popularizations of the electronic gadgetry of the future testifies to a deep public interest, mixed with some bewilderment and apprehension. Some of this interest is in fact superficial, misdirected, and consciously manipulated by the United States Establishment for Cold War purposes. Thus the race to the moon can be seen as a diversion from the real problems facing us. In fact it is fairly clear that with about three-quarters of American scientific resources now tied up in defense and space, and with the influx of new scientists and technicians limited by a deteriorating educational system, we are not really going to develop anywhere near as rapidly as possible a new industrial technology geared to current consumer needs. Much fear is now being expressed in the business press, for example, that as a result of their relatively small defense budgets, West Germany, and France and Britain too, will be able to outdistance us in the development of new consumer goods and new industrial machines and processes. But this is merely one facet of the broader truth that scientific advance is proving to be too rapid to be successfully contained by the American free-enterprise system. For example, we have no adequate way of disseminating scientific knowledge. As research and development are now organized, each giant company frequently finds it necessary to duplicate work already done by others. The atmosphere of "security" which surrounds these operations has the effect of seriously restricting the exchange of ideas.

But the most hobbling of all constraints placed on the role of American science today is the market economy that in the past decade has limited us to a mere one percent annual increase in per capita income.

The previously cited *Resources in America's Future* offers some indirect evidence on the difficulties we would meet in trying to raise our rate of productivity gain. The report, by assuming that output per capita can grow at the rate of 2.4 percent per year projects an increase in American living standards of 138 percent over a 40-year span. This looks wonderful until one digs a little deeper into some of the other supporting projections. Thus we find that the labor force in the year 2000 is projected at 142 million, with 5 million assigned to the armed forces, 31 million to government service (a healthy fivefold gain over 1960), only 2.5 million to farming (as against 6 million in 1960), leaving 98 million in non-farm private employment (unemployment is optimistically put at 4 percent). Unfortunately, no further breakdown is attempted, but this is where the true dilemma emerges. The same power of modern productivity which will cut the farm labor force in half in 40 years, will do the

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same for the 24 millions employed today in mining, construction, manufacturing, public utilities, and transportation, for in all of these economic sectors gains in output per man can be expected to match those of agriculture. Indeed the logic of automation will in time reduce the labor force in these industries to a small complement of engineers and technicians. We are thus faced with an implied projection of some 86 million Americans in the year 2000 wastefully employed in the distributive trades and services—the only remaining sectors.*

An equally ludicrous projection that the Ford Foundation economists must make is that we will "enjoy" an annual output of 29 million cars in 2000, by which time there would be 244 million cars on the road, or 8 times as many as in 1960. This in the face of the inability of urban planners to find enough space for another decade of "normal" gain in the use of cars for private transportation, let alone four decades.

These are only two of countless contradictions growing out of attempts to accommodate the institutions of a private-enterprise economy to the truly fearsome power of modern technology to saturate the market.

The Landsberg report gives us some indication albeit distorted of what could come of compounding an annual productivity gain of 2.4 percent. But what if the full potential of modern scientific advance could be unleashed in the United States, at the 5 percent annual rate enjoyed by the socialist world? Here is the stuff dreams are made of! An annual output by 2000 of 5 trillion dollars, for example, offering the exciting prospect of the simultaneous satisfaction of all civilized needs and the abolition of all forced or uncreative labor.

The fascinating vistas opened up by advancing science and technology are illuminated in two other recent books: *Profiles of the Future* by the noted science fiction writer Arthur Clarke (Harper & Row, 1962); and *Science in the 21st Century* (McGraw Hill, 1962), a collection of speculations by Russian scientists on the problems of science 50 years from now. These speculations, like the best of science fiction, have a realistic basis in that they lie within the near or far reach of scientific thought as it is now developing. They include the effects of the conversion into useful energy of the latent power of nuclear fusion, and the climatic changes which may be expected to result from such engineering feats as changing the direction of rivers, damming the Bering Straits, or converting the Sahara into a sea. But why go on? The greater the promise of technical advance, the less appear the prospects of realization under

* And this ignores the probability that computers will eventually displace most white collar workers in the trades and services!

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our present private-enterprise system. Some day a future generation of Americans will be so productive that it could easily produce an annual product of $5,000 billion, or ten times the current level; and it will perforce have to face and solve the problem of using this prodigious power in the interests of humanity. Can Standard Oil, Dupont, and General Dynamics have any place in such a society?

For the first time since the dawn of civilization about 5000 years ago, the masses have now become alive to the possibility that their traditional way of life might be changed for the better and that this change might be brought about by their own action. This awakening of hope and purpose in the hearts and minds of the hitherto depressed ¾ths of the world's population will, I feel certain, stand out in retrospect as the epoch-making event of our age. The tapping of atomic energy and its application to the forging of weapons and the exploration of outer space will be seen to have been trifles by comparison. As for the present-day conflict between competing ideologies, this will, I should guess, be as meaningless to our descendants, three hundred years from now, as our 16th century and 17th century Western ancestors' wars of religion already are to us. On the other hand the emancipation of the world's women and industrial workers and peasants will, I believe, loom larger and larger; and, so far as this stands to the Western civilization's credit, this Western civilization will receive, and deserve, the blessing of posterity.

—Arnold J. Toynbee, America and the World Revolution

What we have sown is the world-wide realization that nothing but positive laws made by men are responsible for a world divided into a few masters and many servants, a few who rule and a vast and inert multitude who have no function but to labor and obey. The common man is emerging everywhere from the twilight of history and he is demanding that status which in every community so far has been denied him by mobilizing against his claim all the forces at the disposal of the state power. . . . The world is going left and it is going left irresistibly. I am not concerned to deny the possibility of temporary halts on the march of revolution here, of counter-revolution there. But the conviction grows everywhere that the issues we confront are not capable of being met in terms of the traditional order.

—Harold J. Laski, New York Times, June 17, 1945

The very existence of life may depend on our building an edifice of civilization such as never existed before. If industrial society could not have been created without the framework of "civilization," it can hardly endure save within the framework of a better civilization that remains to be created.

—John Nef, Civilization, Industrial Society, and Love

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1. Date of Filing: October 1, 1963
2. Title of Publication: Monthly Review
3. Frequency of Issue: Monthly except July and August when bi-monthly.
4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York 10014
5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York 10014
6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor:
   Publisher—Monthly Review, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York 10014
   Editor—Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York 10014
   Managing Editor—Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, New York 10014
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(*continued from inside front cover*)
page 413. Don't wait to order your tickets—they probably will go fast so order *now*.

As you know, the Boggs special summer issue was published as a dollar paperback, and already we have had to reprint. Among the many tributes the book has received, that of Wyndham Mortimer, whom many MR readers will remember as one of the founders of the auto workers' union, is especially noteworthy. "I think your book," Mortimer wrote to Boggs, "is the best thing that has happened to the UAW since the sitdown strikes. I only hope it gets a very wide circulation, especially among the auto workers, because it brings out and stresses the impossibility of finding a remedy for their most pressing problems under the existing social order." As usual, we ask your cooperation in extending the book's circulation. It would be specially helpful if you would go to your favorite paperback store and persuade the manager to stock the book. At $1 it is a bargain, and the current interest in the subject matter should ensure a good sale.

Bertrand Russell also has a good word for the Boggs book—and for MR. "Thank you very much," he writes, "for sending me James Boggs' remarkable book and the valuable pamphlet on 'The War in Vietnam' by Hugh Deane. Your journal has been of the greatest interest to me over a period of time. I am not a Marxist by any means as I have sought to show in critiques published in several books, but I recognize the power of much of your own analysis and where I disagree I find your journal valuable and of stimulating importance. I want to thank you for your work and to tell you of my appreciation of it." We wrote to ask if we could have permission to quote from the letter, and Lord Russell replied that we could, adding, "I have found the MONTHLY REVIEW invaluable in my work as you probably saw from my heavy reliance on it in the early chapters of *Unarmed Victory*." We are taking the liberty of assuming that we can quote that, too!

Other book news: Gorden Lewis' *Puerto Rico* will definitely be shipped to prepublication purchasers before Christmas. The prepub price is $5, exactly half of the after-publication price. This is an excellent holiday gift.

We are adding 16 pages of first-rate photographs to Cedric Belfrage's *The Man at the Door with the Gun*, and each chapter is preceded by an outline map indicating the location of the country under discussion. We have had to raise the list price of the book to $4.50 but the prepublication price remains at $2.50—a saving of $2. This book will also be ready before Christmas, and it also makes a fine gift.

We are delighted to announce that a testimonial meeting in honor of Scott Nearing will be held on his 80th birthday, November 7th. Details on p. 387. We join with all of Scott's other friends and admirers all over the world—and what a lot of them there are!—in wishing him many more years of active service in the cause of socialism and sanity.

George A. Feri of 17 Bronx Drive, Morris Plains, N.J. (phone: Jefferson 8-5927) would like to get in touch with socialists in Morris, Union, Essex, Hudson and Bergen Counties, who would care to discuss and explore the possibilities of socialist political action in the present situation.

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